000 to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

589 Of a total of 116 men who grew up as members of Hsiachichou families 8 (7 percent) passed their thirtieth birthday without marrying. Four of these men were either very old or had already died at the time of our study, and four were younger men who might still marry. Two of the younger men were brothers whose parents died when they were quite young. Their father's older brother raised them, but he and his wife also died before the boys were old enough to marry. The oldest boy, according to his neighbors, was sickly as a child, and so "his mother was too good to him and gave him too much tonic and too many good things to eat. That's why he is this way now." "This way" apparently refers to his frequent ill health and his general lack of energy. Although already 34 years old in 1960, he had never looked for work outside the village, spending most of his time helping his brother-in-law who tills the family's small truck garden. The judgment of most of the neighbors is that this man will never marry, but his younger brother probably will. Energetic and hard working, he began to work in the coal mines before he was twenty years old, and had it not been for bad luck would probably not be on our list at all. While working in a mine near Keelung he was engaged to a young woman living in a nearby village, and would have married her had she not run away with another man while he was in the army. Although this caused him a certain amount of embarrassment, it apparently has not discouraged him, for we heard just before we left the village that he was looking for another wife.

• 539 The four younger men in our genealogies who did not marry all share one characteristic. They are either the offspring of women who never married, or they are men whose fathers died before they reached marriageable age. While we are not sure that this should be labelled the cause of their not marrying, it is undoubtedly an important contributing factor. In none of these cases had the parents adopted a sim-puâ, and so a marriage meant the preferred form of marriage, an expense which a family without an adult male might find difficult to manage. This was suggested to us by a mother who said that she would arrange a marriage for her son if she had the money, "but I don't and so he will just have to make his own life. If he wanted to find a wife he would, but he doesn't so he will just have to make his own way." Her apparent lack of concern is probably due to the fact that she has two other sons who are married. So long as a family has one or two married sons with children they are not as concerned about the marriage of a second or third son, although they would naturally prefer to see him marry. The reason for the unmarried state of one young man may be that when his married brother became ill and lost his job the family could not afford to assume the additional burden of a second daughter-in-law and more children. During the two years we lived in the village they were almost entirely dependent upon the wages the unmarried son earned as a coal miner.

The cases of the four older men who failed to marry involved a variety of circumstances. One is the case we have already mentioned of a man by the name of Ong Mong-chi who obtained an adopted son in

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [776] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [822] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [735] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [591] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-gick who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-gick's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

• 589 [732] Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
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589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-mui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[769]

589 Ng Cng-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Cng-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Cng-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Cng-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Cng-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Cng-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."
[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Cng-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

585 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs,
589 and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I'
[737] just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age."

548 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents'
589 desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

584 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable
597 information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a
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*584 number of male children, she was given away in adoption as a child, but
*597 later returned to her natal family. Some of the villagers say that she
• 589 returned because the boy she was adopted to marry died, and others think that it was because her prospective mother-in-law didn't like her. Whatever the reason, her natal family accepted her return with reluctance, and apparently did not feel any responsibility for arranging her marriage. With three sons to provide wives for, they probably had little money to spare for a dowry, this being the reason they gave
548 the girl away in the first place. Ong Ti-sai went to work as a prostitute when she was quite young, and has been following this profession all of her life. Although fifty-three years old in 1960, she was still entertaining soldiers in her house. It is interesting to note that while Ong Ti-sai was only one of a number of prostitutes living in the village at this time she was the only one of whom most of the village was critical. The main reason seemed to be that she practiced her profession in the village. Most women who are prostitutes do not make any particular effort to conceal the fact, but they almost always avoid professional activities while in the village, particularly with local men. We once overheard a mother warning her daughter not to become involved with a village man who seemed attracted by her.

> "We are just living here temporarily, so we cannot go around as we please. We have to be good friends with all of the people here. This man has a home and children, and so he cannot afford to run around. Don't pay any attention to whether he has money or not. We can only be his friends. We cannot break up his home. You have to remember that we cannot damage people's relations with other people in the place where we live."

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Ong Hong-chi did not have to marry because he had the son given to him by his foster sister as a forfeit for marrying out of the family. His is an exceptional case, however. For most people remaining unmarried creates a very real problem. They must somehow provide for their old age and for their security in the next world. For men the most common solution is to attach themselves to a married brother's family, contributing their income to the support of their nieces and nephews. These children are then obliged to their father's brother in much the same way as they are to their father and will support him in his old age. This is the situation of the three unmarried elderly men who had no children, and, if they do not marry, the four younger men we have discussed will probably follow the same pattern. When we knew them in 1960 they were each included in the kê of a married sibling and contributed a large share of their income to that kê. The afterlife of these men is usually provided for by giving them a brother's child in nominal adoption. This child is then under ritual obligation to his foster father, and is expected to designate one of his own descendants to carry on the truncated line. If an unmarried man's brothers cannot spare a male child, he may be given a girl, in which case the girl is in the same position as any other only child and must make a matrilocal marriage that will allow her to fulfill her obligations to her foster father. This is what happened in the case of the man who did not marry because of a mental handicap. Unfortunately, the girl's husband later deserted her, and she was forced into prostitution in order to support herself and her children.

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*593 The situation of the woman who does not marry is very different.
*562 Although it does not take the form of an explicit principle, it would
*597 seem that a woman's brother has no obligation to support her if she
589 fails to marry. Perhaps this is because she cannot make the same kind
769 of contribution to his family as could a man, or perhaps it is simply
that brother and sister are not generally under the same obligation as
[604] brothers. Whatever the reason, we do not know of a single case in
which an unmarried woman was supported in her old age by a brother or
a brother's child, nor do we know of a single instance in which a child
was given in adoption to a woman who had died without descendants. The
woman who fails to marry must provide for her own security in this world
and the next. As a result, those women who do not marry will usually
adopt children as the only means available for them to provide for their
future. Of the 11 unmarried women in our genealogies 7 (64 percent)
adopted at least one child, and 4 (36 percent) adopted two or more
children. The four women who did not adopt include Ng Cng-sueq who
bore three sons, and one other woman who bore a son and a daughter.
The two women who have neither borne nor adopted children are both
young and may still either marry or adopt. To provide for their
future they must do one or the other.

548 What is true of those women who do not marry is also generally
*597 true of all women who work at one time or another as prostitutes.
Although many prostitutes later marry, not all do. It is therefore
very common for these women to adopt a female child who will be able
to support them in the same profession should they not be able to find

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
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587 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
589 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
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